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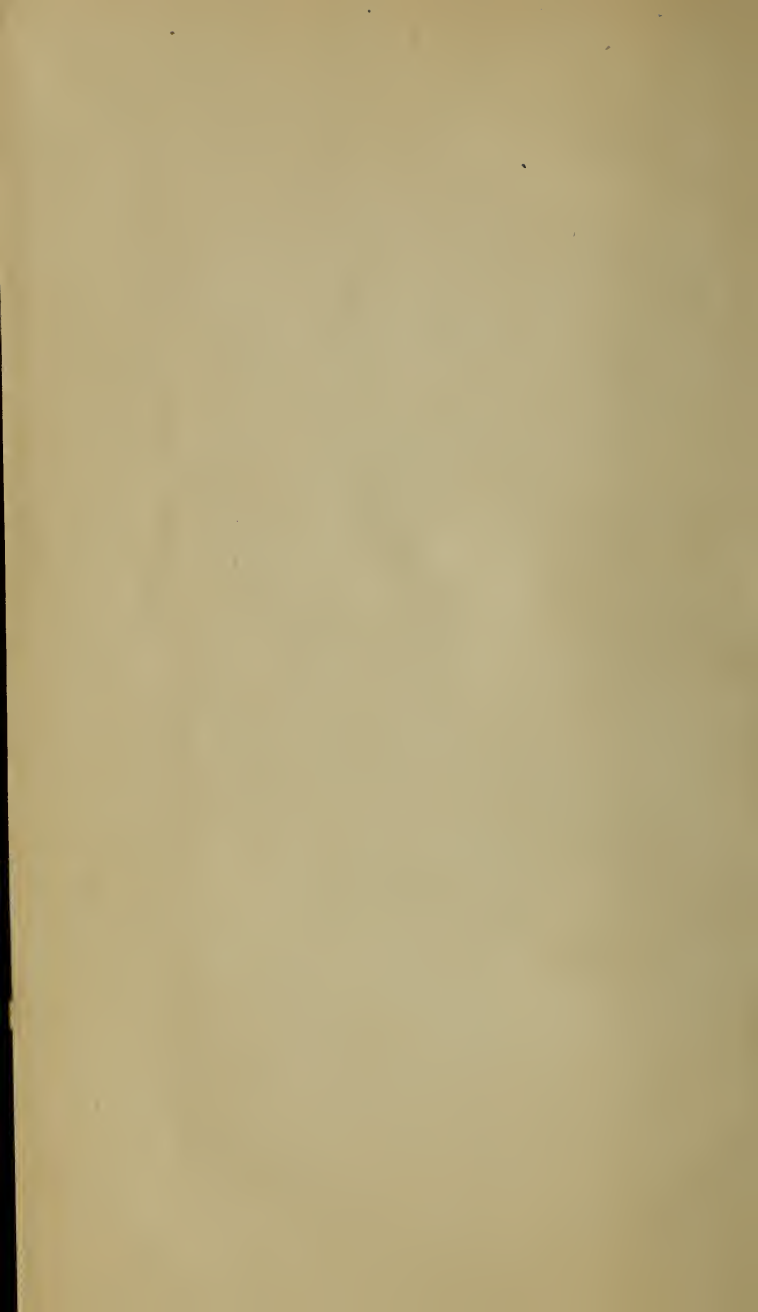
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THE
EULOGY
OF
MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE
DUKE OF SULLY,
SUPERINTENDANT OF FINANCE, &c.

AND
Prime Minister to Henry the Fourth,

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

Antoine Leonard

M. THOMAS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS,
BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The Eulogy gained the prize of the French Academy in 1763.

CHELTEMHAM:

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HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS
OF THE
EULOGY
OF
MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE
Duke of Sully.

WERE the records of history, or the imagery of fiction to be searched for a character which would present to the mind the contemplation of all that is great and good, it would linger on that page of the annals of France, which is consecrated to the remembrance of the virtuous friend and minister of Henry the Fourth. But I will not anticipate his Eulogy, if indeed the matter of fact of his life which tends to the illustration of his eloquent panygerist, be not its anticipation.

Next to the glory of having created an illustrious name, by deeds which render it dear and venerable to mankind, is that of having transmitted to posterity with added laurels, the wreath of well earned fame, that has adorned a remote ancestry. Such distinction most peculiarly belongs to that individual of the House of Bethune, who, to the warlike memory of its gallant crusaders, its royal alliances with the Sovereigns of France, the Emperors of Constantinople, the Kings of Jerusalem, Castile, Scotland, and England, the House of Austria, the Dukes of Lorraine, the Counts of Flanders; its intermarriages with the houses of Courtenay, Chatillon, Montmorency, Melun and Horn, added to the accumulated virtues and glories of his race, a title more dear and distinguished the **BENEFACTOR OF HIS COUNTRY.**

An example more extraordinary than that of military achievement, or political successes, or judicious government, is

afforded in the association of the name of Sully with that of his royal master; of friendship on a throne. Tried and tender it dawned in adversity from mutual admiration, it was matured in persevering loyalty under various fortune; in the height of favour and prosperity undebased by flattery or exaction; virtuous and heroic in the subject, in the amiable great, but imperfect monarch; confiding and energetic, it was perhaps the only true blessing enjoyed by Henry in a reign more fruitful in happiness to his people than to himself, the root of which infelicity may be found in those errors and weaknesses of the man which yet in justice ought not to tarnish the glories of the sovereign.

The friendship of Henry IV. and Sully is one of the most beautiful delineations presented by history. Born in 1560, the eldest son of the Baron de Rosni, and Charlotte Dauvet; nursed amid the tumults of civil dissensions and the atroci-

ties of faction, Sully was only eleven years of age when he was presented to the King of Navarre, then only eighteen. The noble child bent his knee to his new master, and in a better spirit than young Hannibal, vowed not eternal enmity but eternal attachment. The force of this promise was at the moment little heeded, but in after days, at the most critical conjunctures, Sully sealed it with his blood, his counsels and his possessions. In 1585, when the Calvinists endeavoured to turn France into a republic, Sully maintained the necessity of union under one head, to give energy to any legislation; though he had embraced the reformed religion his impartial and penetrating mind rejected the alloy which selfish passions and crafty ambition had too fatally blinded with a good cause. Undeviating in his personal integrity to the opinions he had adopted on conviction, he steered clear of the fanaticism of religious faction, which had caused his wretched country to bleed in every

pore ; he preferred the public good to the predominance of any party, and religious truth in general, to the arrogant pretensions of individual leaders. In 1592 he leaned to the Counsels, which determined Henry to profess the Catholic faith ; convinced that salvation was *attainable* in it, and probably anticipating the extinction of both religion and morality in a continuation of the disgraceful scenes which were enacted on either side in the name of Heaven. The principles of universal toleration, with which he imbued the Government of Henry, were more consonant to the true interests of the reformed religion than the fierce and unholy contentions which at that period possibly retarded its diffusion in France. Had the system of toleration which Sully introduced been adhered to, the silent force of truth might have gained the conquest which the force of arms failed to establish ; and be it observed, it was the reign of false glory and licentious pleasure, changed to gloomy bigotry and

illiberal superstition, which under Louis XIV. revoked the famous edict of Nantz, deprived France of the most conscientious portion of its subjects, and left the community no tone and moderating power to check the torrent of infidelity and false philosophy which, in succeeding times, overthrew all that was left of religion in France, made vice and anarchy triumphant, celebrate their orgies on the downfall of the Church and State. That patriotism alone outweighed with Sully the predominance of the party in religion to whose opinions he had attached himself, is proved by his sacrifice of every private interest to his religious integrity ; he refused the alliance of his royal master's daughter with his own son, that the reformed faith might unalterably be preserved in his house and lineage ; thus devoting to the cause all the glory of the name of Sully. In 1604 he prepared a memorial, the object of which was to unite the Protestants and Catholics in one view of religious truth ; if he had

succeeded, what tears and blood might have been spared.

The memorable assembly of the Protestants at Chatelleraut in 1605, placed Sully in the most delicate circumstances. Never was a greater mark of confidence bestowed by his master than his appointment as President, and when we consider that he was himself a Protestant, his enlightened zeal and his loyalty seem strangely opposed, and his situation replete with danger and difficulty. The line of conduct to which he determined to adhere, was, neither to betray his religion or his Prince ; he pursued it with undeviating integrity. His wisdom was conspicuous throughout the proceedings of this perilous assembly, in which Mornay with blind and impetuous zeal, enacted the part of an enthusiast, ever ready to place arms in the hands of fanatical and rebellious subjects. Sully presided in two similar assemblies, that of Rochelle, in 1607, and that of Gergeau,

in 1608 ; in both he rendered the most essential service to the King and the State.

It is hardly possible to conceive the cabals which Henry had to crush in his own party. Every head was turned by fanaticism and ambition ; and Sully was equally useful in battle as in negociation. In 1594 he left the siege of Laon to quell in Paris the disturbances on the subject of the Jesuits.

During the childhood of Sully six pitched battles had been fought between the Protestants and the Catholics. The massacre of St. Bartholomew, more destructive than ten battles, disgraced France in 1592. Sully, then twelve years of age, had been educated in the Protestant faith. He studied in the College of Burgundy, but did not live there. At midnight he was awakened by all the bells in Paris, and the confused uproar of the populace, and was no sooner informed of its cause

than he resolved to take refuge in the College; he put on his scholar's habit, and placed a Catholic prayer-book under his arm. When he entered the streets they were inundated with blood, he beheld the furious soldiery breaking into the houses, and heard the terrific cry: "Kill, kill the Huguenots." His alarm increasing, he redoubled his speed; three bands of soldiers stopped him successively, and each time he owed his safety to the book he carried. New perils assailed him when he reached the College of Burgundy: the porter twice refused him entrance, and left him in the streets at the mercy of the assassins. Happily the Principal of the College was apprised of his danger; this worthy man did not consider assassination to be a religious duty. He took young Rosni into his own apartment: two priests were there, who, citing the example of the Sicilian Vespers, would have murdered him on the spot, alledging, that the edict commanded even nurslings to be put to death. The Prin-

cipal with difficulty rescued him from their fury and conveyed him to a closet, in which he locked him.

On how tender threads do the destinies of nations hang! Henry narrowly escaped the same day! The charitable priest who saved the life of Sully when he was twelve years old, little thought he had rescued the deliverer of France.

The civil war, which seemed crushed by the massacre of St. Bartholomew was renewed in 1574, but the King of Navarre did not recover his liberty till 1576. Rosni accompanied him in his flight; he entered the infantry as a volunteer and made his first Campaign at Tours, when he greatly signalized himself. The King of Navarre having learnt that he had conducted himself with more valour than prudence, sent for him and thus addressed him: "Rosni, I do not wish you *now* to hazard your life, preserve it for a more glorious occasion." He was often in

peril in the various actions which followed: at the siege of Marmande, where he commanded the archers; he was nearly overpowered by the superiority of numbers, when the King of Navarre in a slight coat of mail, flew to his assistance, and gave him time to seize the post he assailed.

Young Rosni's economy and the military earnings of this campaign, enabled him to maintain several gentlemen as his followers, with whom he attached himself more immediately to the service of the King. Though only sixteen years of age, he managed his income with such economy that he was enabled to keep up an appearance beyond his fortune. The King of Navarre remarked it and conceived a high esteem for him in consequence. Mankind in general do not discern great characters by trivial marks, but the King of Navarre possessed this penetration, and perhaps already antici-

pated a Prime Minister in the young Ensign.

Henry, King of Navarre, who, with the assistance of Sully, so greatly improved the condition of the French people, was his senior by seven years. Born in 1553, at Pau, in Bearn, he was brought up in a castle among rocks and mountains. His usual diet was brown bread, cheese, and beef. He often went with his head and feet uncovered. This masculine education doubtless imparted to his soul its vigorous temper, and made him a great man. It were to be wished that such examples could be imitated in our times. *Luxury, the prevailing error of modern education*, by enervating the bodily frame, destroys the principle of energetic conduct, and, if we may so express it, stifles the soul before it can expand into existence.

In a sketch which merely illustrates

the Eulogy of Sully, it is needless to detail the various actions in which he signalised himself and did justice to the choice of his royal master. The military achievements of those times were of so wonderful a character, that they appear as deeds of ancient chivalry, when compared with the events of modern warfare. The soul of Henry IV. inspired his whole army, and gave a lofty character to his cause which blended interest with the horrors and atrocities of civil and religious dissensions.

A few traits will sanction this remark. At the battle of Arques, Henry, at the head of three thousand men, encountered the Duke of Mayenne, at the head of thirty thousand ; but convinced that a brilliant stroke was required to raise his party, never did he appear more tranquil and serene. A few moments previous to the attack, a prisoner of distinction being brought to him, the King met and embraced him, smiling ; he testified to the

King his astonishment at the small number of soldiers of which his army was composed. “ You see not my whole forces,” replied the King, with the utmost cheerfulness, “ you have omitted in your reckoning God and my good cause.” After this famous victory, he wrote to the Duke de Crillon this memorable letter:—“ Brave Crillon, hang thyself—thou wert absent when we fought the battle of Arques.” Before this decisive day, he said he was a King without a kingdom, a husband without a wife, and a warrior without supplies.

At the siege of Rouen, Rosni and the Marshal de Biron differed in opinion. Biron's prevailed. Rosni was also excluded from a post he was desirous to obtain in the artillery, and which he solicited with the ardour of a man anxious to be useful ; but his talents had already made him obnoxious to several of his inferiors, who by artifice obtained his exclusion. But he had the glory of being

foremost in all the perils to which Henry was exposed ; in the attack of the trenches in a cold night in December, he was twice thrown down, his armour forced off and broken. The impetuous valour of Henry had exposed him to such dangers in this action that his life was despaired of. The next day Rosni was the bearer of the representation of the army on this subject ; the King interrupted him with these words : “ My friend, how can I act otherwise when I fight for my glory and my crown. My life and every other advantage are dust in the balance.”

At the siege of Dreux, a fort was to be taken which was considered cannon-proof. Rosni promised the King that it should surrender. His enemies dared to assert that this promise was ridiculous. The King himself doubted of his success ; yet by mine and sap Rosni succeeded in six days. By the care and vigilance of Rosni, the army wanted for nothing.

Montmelian passed for being impregnable ; there were persons in the Council who dreaded the success of Rosni as much as the Duke of Savoy himself. Zeal at length overcame envy ; Rosni attacked Charbonnieres, a place of nearly equal strength, and situated on an inaccessible rock. He endured incredible fatigue, and promised the king that the place should surrender the next day. While he exposed his life, the courtiers were employed in censuring his operations, one of them boasted that if *he* were in the place it should not be taken for a month ; “ Go then,” said Sully, wearied with his impertinence, “ you and your colleagues, enter it, and if I do not have you all hanged before evening, call me a fool.”

Before evening the garrison surrendered !!!

At the battle of Ivry, in 1590, Sully had two horses killed under him, received seven wounds, and fainted on

the field ; when he revived he found himself disarmed, surrounded by the dead, and without a follower ; he thought the battle was lost, when four of the enemy surrendered to him as prisoners, and implored him to save their lives. Sully was carried on a hurdle made of branches of trees to his Castle of Rosni, with the prisoners, the enemies' colours drooping round him, and his brave soldiers covered with honourable wounds. Henry hastened to meet the cavalcade, and more as a friend than a king, testified the tenderest anxiety for his recovery. Rosni thanked him and said it raised him in his own opinion to have suffered for so good a master. Henry replied, " brave soldier and valiant knight : I ever honoured your courage, and conceived high hope of your virtue ; but your noble achievements and distinguished modesty surpass my expectation. Before I leave you I must embrace you in the presence of these princes, great captains, and worthy knights." So saying, he clasped him

in his arms, and lavished many more affecting expressions of his regard, and bade him adieu, adding "Above all, remember you have a good master."

By his superior knowledge of mankind, Sully was enabled to hold his virtuous course till resistance gave way to the energetic courage that shaped the reformation of long-standing abuses: faction bowed to power or was conciliated by magnanimity. He possessed the penetration and coolness which are necessary to acquire true judgment of men and measures. The King of Navarre had placed him in the Court of Catherine de Medicis, to unravel its crooked policy; he there beheld the talented and fascinating Italian apparently immersed in pleasures, but busied in external political intrigues; to the varied hues of the serpent, its poisonous subtilty, its inveterate cruelty, its innate grovelling propensities, the manners, mind and character of this Queen, may be justly assimilated. Rosni

silently observed her tortuous course, the withering influence by which she imbued the heart and government of her son with her own vices ; the luxurious splendour of her polished court. Even the generous soul of Henry IV. was tainted with the prevailing vice of gallantry, to the detriment of his subsequent career, which might otherwise in private as well as public life have passed down to posterity with unsullied glory and undiminished felicity. To the penetrating eye of Rosni and to his more exquisite moral discrimination, all the objects which dazzled and seduced the other members of the court appeared in their true colours. The popularity of the Guises did not efface in his estimation the tyranny by which it was upheld ; its fatal termination might be anticipated in the extreme and hazardous measures to which imperious favourites were ever impelling this ambitious and ill-fated race. The King inertly allowed the formation of the league, which, when authorised by his weakness,

spread around him the toils from which he vainly endeavoured to extricate himself. Rosni transmitted exact relations of the state of affairs to Henry, and when Henry III. declared himself chief of the league which was formed to dethrone him, Rosni addressed himself to those Frenchmen in whom the spirit of loyalty and patriotism was not wholly extinguished on this critical occasion. In 1588, after the Barricades, that memorable instance of audacity in the subject and weakness in the King, Rosni's master directed him to watch the motions of the Count of Soissons and observe the new system that was about to be adopted at Court. Thus did Sully acquire his superior knowledge of mankind: thus, in fact, can such a study only be pursued. It is in stormy times, in the shock of factions amid contending interests, by the crimes and virtues peculiar to such conjunctures, that the characteristics of the species are displayed. In peace an uniform tenor of action obliterates the

energetic traits of character, or blends in uniformity the mask that covers the face of society. After this notice of the school in which Sully was formed, his character breaks on the mind in its native force and originality, uncorrupted and undeceived by false maxims, or devious practice. His policy was undebased by artifice ; ingenious but not false, virtuous but not rigid ; it was the policy of integrity, which always adheres to truth, and possesses that place in the public esteem which induces confidence.

Nothing but evil can be made to prevail without contradiction ; let him who would benefit mankind be prepared for opposition. That courage which shrunk not in the bloody field, when opposed to unequal numbers, maintained unshaken its moral strength in the more difficult combat which awaited Sully in his attack of the prejudices, passions and vices, which distorted the Government of France, when, as Superintendant of Fi-

nance, this branch of political economy was placed immediately under his cognizance. In his administration, we may particularly remark that ascendancy which the man of genius ever gains over weak characters and paltry aims. To appreciate what Sully performed in the amelioration of this branch of legislation, it is necessary to notice the prevailing features of the character of his predecessor under Henry III. and in the commencement of the reign of Henry IV. Francis D'O—— had precisely the faults which should have excluded him from a similar post;—indolent, dissipated, a gamester, immersed in pleasures. Vainly ostentatious of his absurd prodigality, refusing no indulgence to himself, while the King wanted common necessities. Such was the man to whom the superintendence of finance was intrusted; he died in 1794, with a fortune amounting to four millions, leaving a national debt of eight hundred and ten millions.

At his death the superintendancy was suppressed, and the king appointed a Council of Finance, composed of eight individuals. Sully did not approve of this mode of administration, because it is more difficult to find ten persons of integrity than one. His opinion was too well justified in the sequel. Robbery and dissipation flourished more vigorously under the eight commissioners than before. The King begged eight hundred crowns from them, to maintain the siege of Arras, as a beggar implores the assistance of a rich man without being able to obtain them. This good Prince thus described his situation to Sully in a letter : “ I am close to the enemy and have not a horse to bear me into battle ; my shirts are worn out, and my waistcoats darned at the elbow, and I dine alternately with my officers because my purveyors have no provisions for my own table.” Yet the eight commissioners revelled in luxury, and insulted the public misery.

It is humiliating to humanity that a great man is ever exposed to the attacks of those who envy him. Never did any one suffer more from them than Sully. His merit might have been pardoned, but what was unpardonable was the unlimited confidence of his master. Women, courtiers, ministers, all leagued against him ; it is memorable that this faithful servant and tender friend, was on the point of being disgraced fifteen times. Every year this persecution was renewed. The Catholics were jealous of the favour bestowed on a Huguenot, the Protestants envied the justice done to his merit. To such a height were these jealousies carried, that Henry and Sully agreed to bear themselves towards each other in public very distantly: often did the King visit him privately, but on these occasions the most delightful familiarity characterised their intimacy. This Prince required not adversity to soften his heart, but he imparted all its bitterness in his letters to

Sully, which amount to above three thousand. He took the most lively interest in his domestic affairs, and in their respective sorrows they experienced mutual consolation from the tender friendship with which each endeavoured to alleviate the misfortunes of the other. The noble frankness with which Sully warned Henry of his faults is well known ; he exercised the same watchfulness over his master as over his own bosom. When he tore the marriage promise extorted from his susceptible master, Henry asked him if he were mad ; “ Yes, truly,” replied Sully, “ and would to God I were the only madman in France.”

Sully beheld with due affliction, the demoralization which attended the ruinous state of finances. He had the principles of the ancient legislators ; he would have been Lycurgus at Sparta, and Cato at Rome. How remote are such principles from our modern ways of thinking. With short sighted policy we nicely cal-

culate the benefits a state may derive from population, commerce and industry, but morals are passed over. We exclaim that mankind are become degenerate, and what can we expect but degeneracy when gold is regarded as our best possession. A mercenary spirit has annihilated every noble principle; every thing, even virtue has its price; and a good action is no sooner performed, than its salary is demanded. This is the root of destruction. With the downfall of morals the downfall of the State is inseparably connected.— Let gold and honour be restored to their separate degree of estimation. This vile metal narrows the soul: honour and esteem elevates it. The wise minister of Henry IV. was indignant at seeing the nobility of his day coveting independence and authority, during the civil wars, and in peace dazzled by the luxury of the merchants, so mean as to have no other emulation than to obtain riches. With what eloquence does he expatiate in his memoirs, on luxury, on frivolity of man-

ners, and the value which our vain passions have affixed to gold; on the decay of the ancient spirit of honour, the confusion of ranks, the illegitimacy of blood, and the inherent superiority of the generous races of the nobility and gentry over the mere monied men, the line of separation which ought to subsist between these two orders of citizens, that the example of opulent leisure may not strike too nearly those whose duty it is to be employed in war, and to devote themselves by energetic labours and painful sacrifices to the service of the King and the State. His style is on this topic instinct with life and energy; he feels the transports of virtue, his austere and noble soul, attacks vice with the same energy with which he attacked the enemy in the day of battle. Such episodes, though less agreeable than those of modern memoirs, are more useful; they have the beauty and utility which belong to our ancient medals.

Sully became Minister of Finance in

1595. The King died in 1610. During the interval of fifteen years, although Sully had diminished the taxes five millions, and paid the national debt, amounting to three thousand and ten millions, he had augmented the annual revenue four millions, and placed in the King's coffers in money and credit forty-one millions. He opposed all the efforts that were made by the interested in every department to avoid giving a strict account of their official conduct, repelled the insolence of the powerful, and personally inspected throughout the provinces, the speculations of their agents. During the administration of Sully, speculators were depressed. He encouraged learning, gave pensions to its professors, and in particular to Causaubon, who was the greatest scholar of his time. He had the difficult task of restraining the violence of party spirit in two rival religions; of quelling the fanaticism which was not yet wholly extinguished, and soothing the expiring struggles of a powerful

party which had long agitated France. The army was regularly paid, the cities adorned with public buildings and useful establishments, manufactures encouraged, and above all, agriculture, which Sully regarded as the prime source of a nation's prosperity, was improved in all its branches, by the liberal encouragement afforded to it.

Sully himself has left us a sketch of his life during his ministry. He rose at four in summer and in winter : employed two hours in reading and replying to the memorials placed on his table ; at half-past six he dressed and attended the council, which sat from seven till ten, and sometimes till eleven ; he passed the rest of the morning with the King, who gave him directions for the different departments of the administration, and then returned to dine ; the simplicity of his table was little admired by the courtiers : when reproached with it, he replied, " If my guests are wise, they will be satisfied :

if they are otherwise, I can dispense with their company.” After dinner he gave a regular audience, to which every one, even the meanest peasant, was admitted. The audience was impartial ; Sully gave every one a prompt answer, and was thus occupied till the hour of his evening repast ; then the doors were closed, he took leave of business, and enjoyed the society of a few friends. He usually went to rest at ten o’clock, and when any unforeseen event retarded the dispatch of business, he stole from sleep the time necessary for its completion.

The conduct of Sully in the domestic relations of life are not irrelevant to his public character ; the intimate sentiments of the human soul evince its latent tendencies, and the virtues which render the individual fit to be entrusted with the welfare of a nation, will first find exercise in the exemplary fulfilment of private duties. This virtue is distinct from mere talent, which may exist in union with many

vices. As a son, a father and a husband, Sully was as justly dear to his family, as he was to his Royal master: and the happy people who owned his benevolent and enlightened sway. It is true that the courtiers, the ladies and the ministers often endeavoured to deprive him of Henry's well-bestowed confidence, and it is disgraceful to human nature that envy worked so successfully on fifteen different occasions as nearly to effect his disgrace; on these occasions, Sully calmly pursued his unsullied career, and disdaining other justification, left the issue to the penetrating mind and grateful heart of his friend, which were too well in accordance with his own to remain long open to the mean and sinister suggestions of the enemies of virtue, which they could neither imitate or successfully oppose. On the most memorable of these occasions, Henry, after three months passed in constraint and coldness, no longer able to endure the torments of mistrust, sent for Sully, and, after a full explanation, in which his in-

nocence was clearly proved, the generous monarch presented his faithful minister to the envious throng, with these withering words: "I desire to make you thoroughly aware that I love Rosni more than ever, and desire to be served no better than I have ever been during his administration."

After the assassination of Henry, in 1610, measures were entirely changed; the old methods of oppressing the people and enriching individuals were resorted to. Sully, indignant, tendered his resignation; but his family, well pleased with his official situation, for a time retarded his retreat. At length, weary of the mean and impolitic conduct of which he was a daily witness, he disdained to lend it his sanction, and retired to his estates. The public favour followed him, when he left Paris three hundred horsemen escorted him; it was the triumph of injured virtue. The Queen, in consideration of his services, sent him a grant of one hundred

thousand crowns ; it appeared to be the price of his resignation, and it would ill have become Sully to accept it ; he accordingly refused it. They then endeavoured to accomplish his ruin by bringing him to trial ; and he, who had for twenty years absolutely devoted himself to the service of the state, was called on for his justification. He wrote to the Queen, who spared the nation this insult to its feelings. Such proceedings are sufficient to inspire disgust of the task of promoting the real welfare of a people if it were possible to appal the courage of the true citizen, Colbert, experienced the same ingratitude, and rendered similar services.

From the retreat of Sully to his death he scarcely ever appeared at Court. Louis XIII. having sent to consult him on the state of affairs, he unwillingly attended the summons. The young courtiers turned into ridicule his dress, his grave demeanour and dignified manners. Sully

perceived it and thus addressed the king :
 “ Sire, when your royal father, of glorious memory, did me the honour to consult me on high and important matters, he dismissed the Court buffoons !!! ”
 What a reproof !

Maximilian de Bethune was born in 1560 ; in 1580, he was appointed Chamberlain to the King of Navarre : in 1594, Secretary of State, subsequently Governor of Mantes, President of the board of Finance, Grand Master of the Artillery, Governor of the Bastile, and in 1606, Duke of Sully and Peer of France. In 1611, he quitted the Court and public affairs ; in 1634, he was made Marshal of France, and died at Villebon in 1641, aged eighty-one years. The Duchess of Sully erected to the memory of her husband a fine statue of white marble, executed by one of the most famous Italian sculptors ; it is placed in an apartment of the Castle of Villebon—doubtless it might have been more appropriately

placed; it should have adorned the capital! The remains of Sully, with those of the Duchess, his wife, are deposited in a mausoleum at Nogent le Rotron, otherwise Bethune.

EULOGY
OF
MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,
Duke of Sully.

THE melancholy experience of every age and nation bears witness to the injustice of mankind towards those who are its greatest ornaments. Surpassing merit cannot be tolerated by those in whom it excites a sense of humiliation. It overpowers their weakness; posterity is more just, envy no longer hovers around the silent tomb, persecution subsides, and petty passions are extinguished, interfering interests no longer exist, and truth is at last triumphant. The interval which separates our age from that of Sully is favourable to his glory; the benefits

derived from his administration have been more truly appreciated since it has passed away ; the resources of his genius have been more admired since the evils they remedied have again occurred. His reputation, at first disputed and vacillating, now stands in its own strength, like the oak of the forest, rooted in storms and rendered firm by the convulsions of succeeding centuries. The Eulogy of this Minister is the echo of fame, dictated by the voice of ages.

Shame to the man of letters who degrades his talent by flattery. Our object is not individual panegyric, but a lesson for nations and the human race. If a country experience the same miseries and the same disorders ; abuses passed into laws, morals corrupted by meanness, the springs of Government relaxed by luxury, I write for that country. In displaying the talents of Sully, I shall unfold mighty resources ; in describing his merits, I shall offer a splendid example.

I am well aware that there are times in which he who dares to eulogise virtue is deemed the enemy of his age ; but I were unworthy to pronounce the name of Sully if I were deterred by such fear. Let us at least have the courage to bear witness to virtue, in an age when so few dare to practise it. The virtuous will uphold me, and the indignation of vice will be a fresh wreath in my crown.

This eulogy shall be equally consecrated to thee, Oh tender friend of Sully, the greatest monarch and the most generous master ! Thou at whose memory the eyes of thy countrymen fill with tears ! If thy cold ashes could speak, thyself would describe the virtues of Sully in thy own manly eloquence ; an eulogy more worthy of him than the tribute of the most splendid oratory.

FIRST PART.



The least distinction of Sully was an illustrious birth ; on one side he was allied to the house of Austria, on the other to that of France. This fortunate concurrence might have corrupted a weak mind ; to his it was the source of that elevation of spirit, which, indignant at the least approach to meanness, enters the career of glory by the path of virtue. Fortune had assigned to him another advantage,—he was poor. While he was educated at Rosni, in the austere strength of the morals of earlier ages, the child who was destined to be the conqueror and ruler of France, grew and improved under similar discipline among the mountains and rocks of Bearn. Their union was decreed for the happiness of the State, while in the weakness of childhood, they

were nursed amid carnage. The four battles in which torrents of the blood of his countrymen were shed, are the epochs of Sully's nonage. Greater miseries approached. How can the memory of that day be obliterated, which was the signal of a civil war which lasted twenty-six years; that day on which fanaticism transformed a mild people into a nation of assassins, and deluged their altars with blood. Praise be to Heaven, Sully and Henry perished not on that tremendous day. Their death would have been more fatal to their surviving countrymen than the loss of sixty thousand citizens who bled in that hour of madness and of horror, the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The education of Sully was interrupted by these troubles. He was obliged to give up the study of languages. But history had placed before his eyes the examples of great men, and he felt himself born to imitate them. The study of mathematics trained his mind to those

just and rapid combinations which form the warrior and the statesman. His age was a living lesson. The religious madness of which he had been the witness, and almost the victim, inspired him with a horror of fanaticism. The ravaged cities and plains awoke compassion in his heart. Hunger, thirst, perils and toils, fortified his courage. What! in contemplating the feeble minds and corrupted morals of our own times, shall we be reduced to envy those periods of civil discord, where the state is agitated, but minds are fortified. Sully, at sixteen, had already shewn himself no common character. Military talents were the first by which he was distinguished.

Charles IX. a weak and ferocious prince, the slave of his mother, and sullied with the blood of his subjects, was dead. Henry the Third had arrived from Poland, but Catherine, voluptuous and cruel, a barbarous Queen, and a superstitious woman, held the bloody reins of

empire. The Protestants, dreadful in defeat, hastened to avenge the murders of St. Bartholomew. Henry burst his chains and flew from prison to the field. Rosni followed him, impatient to conquer; he served as a volunteer. On the plains of Tours he gathered his early laurels. The feeling heart of Henry trembled for him, and while he praised his courage he blamed its temerity. The colours were confided to his hand, and he made them the standard of triumph. To the service of his master he devoted the gold which was the price of his blood, and maintained several gentlemen, who vowed to fight and die in his cause. From this period he was attached to the personal service of the king. It was a devotion to peril and a league with honour. Henry, with a few comrades, was hemmed within the walls of the enemy, and separated from his army. Sully fought at his side against the entire force of the enemy; this new Parmenio saved his Alexander. Perils increased. Here he is surrounded

and appears to have no choice but an honourable death ; there, sword in hand, he opposes an army. Henry blames this excess of courage. But his example authorised what his commands forbid, and Sully in battle was more apt to imitate his master than to obey him.

France, bleeding and rent with civil scars, at length seemed to enjoy the sweets of repose ; the two courts instantly passed from war to dissipation ; strange contrast of ferocity and voluptuousness. Those warriors whom superstition had plunged into the horrors of civil carnage, amused themselves with gallantry, feasts and dances. Interest soon dissolved an ill-cemented peace. The King of Navarre, at the head of fifteen hundred men, attacked an important and well garrisoned town. The gates were forced, but within, a hundred barriers presented themselves. History will tell the deeds of Sully ; fighting beside his king, at every step he encounters a fresh enemy, repels fresh as-

saults ; exposed to the fire of batteries, the hail of musquetry, the stones falling from the house-tops for five days and nights, during which he never quitted his arms, hastily snatching his food in the bloody field, sleeping upright against ruinous houses ready to crush him ; in this state wounded and bleeding, but still fighting with one hand, he attacks the enemy, and with the other he defends his king.

The warfare of those times did not resemble ours, where the opposition of equal forces, form firm battalions, who study and observe each other, combine with deep wisdom their wary movements, and balance with tremendous policy the fates of Empires. Armies were less numerous and more disposable. The enthusiasm of civil contest embued every mind and communicated a dreadful energy which dared and braved every peril. The fate of war turned rather on a *coup de main* than a regular battle ; and actions

often repeated, had less decisive influence. Audacity supplied the place of strength. Cities were by turns taken and re-taken. Negotiations succeeded to battles, and intrigue was mingled with war.

I shall not accompany Sully in all the campaigns in which he served and followed Henry. They every where present the same delineations: battles, perils and wounds. I will rapidly discuss these topics, and pass on to more important objects. Henry III. was no more; this unhappy prince was pierced by the poniard sharpened by his own weakness. The throne of France, vacant by assassination, was disputed by rebellion and intrigue. Mayenne had in his favour his descent from the house of Lorraine, his talents and the popular fanaticism. The Cardinal of Bourbon, his rights and the phantom of power. Philip II. the gold of Mexico, the thunders of Rome, and the genius of the Duke of Parma. Henry IV. his claims, his virtues, his sword and SULLY.

Sully had already made himself master of the important fortress of Meulan, when the Duke of Mayenne advanced at the head of thirty thousand men. Henry ventured to attack him with only three thousand: he entrusted his friend with one of those important positions which decide a victory. Sully is at once a soldier and a general; he gives the word and offers the example—his ranks are broken—he rallies them. New enemies appear,—and his soldiers give way; he flies to Henry and begs a reinforcement. “My friend,” says the King, “I have none to give you, but do not lose courage.” Sully flies to his forces, announces speedy succour; he did not deceive them; his valour, his intrepidity, his zeal for the state, his love for the King; all these virtues, inflamed by Henry’s danger, are the reinforcement he brings. These sentiments pervade every heart, the wounded see their blood flow with unconcern; the dying revive, strength multiplies, and the conquering Sully turns the fate of victory to the side of Henry IV.

Paris is besieged. Sully, master of a suburb, spreads terror through the city. He makes the besiegers retire from Meulan and defends against a whole army a place destitute of walls. The Spaniards join the Leaguers. Mayenne and Egmont march against Henry ; the fate of France hangs upon a battle. On the plains of Ivry Sully fought with intrepidity till he fell under the horse's feet, with seven wounds ; he remained without helmet or armour, fainting and deserted on the field of battle. It was on the close of this battle that Henry, bending over his wounds, bestowed on him the title of " brave and noble knight ;" no vain title to flatter vanity, but the just distinction of a hero. Noble Frenchmen, your ancestors bore this title ; have you forgotten it ? They bought it with their blood, they maintained it by their virtues ; it expressed honour, but did not supply its place ; never was it better bestowed than on Sully. Having learnt that the King again besieged Paris, he directed that he

should be borne thither. His failing steps would no longer support him in battle ; his arm in a sling could no longer wield a sword ; but his counsels can assist his Prince, and his voice animate his troops ; the very sight of his wounds are the signal of battle and the example of valour. Soon he is able to resume his sword. He takes Gisors, flies to the siege of Chartres, and nearly perishes there ; he lays a plot to get Mayenne into his hands, but the impetuous valour of Henry saves the chief of the League. At the siege of Rouen he requests the honour of the command of a battery, but envy already wished to deprive him of the glory of serving the state. At least they cannot deprive him of the satisfaction of shedding his blood at the side of his master. The Duke of Parma again entered France. The King, who never counted his troops, again marched to encounter him. With one hundred men he faced thirty thousand. The name of Henry could alone authenticate this action, in which he

fought like the Spartans at Thermopylæ; sixty of his comrades perished by his side, and his single arm, with the remainder, upheld the destiny of France against thirty thousand men. Sully was endowed by nature with a talent for sieges, led on by his genius he had studied the science of attack and defence. This science was far from being perfected; it awaited Vauban. But Sully, even in this department, had the glory which is peculiar to genius, of outstripping his age. At the siege of Dreux his enemies dared to insult his measures. His success avenged him. He greatly promoted the capture of Laon, and here he fought for the last time against the French. Willingly would he have broken the sword of civil contest; he preserved it only to wash its stains in the blood of the enemies of his country. Henry declared war against the Spaniards, and Sully went to the siege of Fère; he directed its operations and provisioned the army. Before Amiens he was not less useful to his

King ; the loss of this city almost overthrew the throne of Henry IV. The peace of Vervins terminated these troubles, but war soon arose at the foot of the Alps. The Duke of Savoy, by the artifices of a weak potentate, drew on himself the arms of the conqueror of the League. Henry advanced and Sully drives back the enemies of France. He had the audacity to attack two forts situated on a sharp and inaccessible rock ; a path surrounded with precipices was the only road by which cannon could reach it, and it was necessary to carry it afterwards over the summit of the mountain ; to fix batteries it was necessary to level rocks, and to take the citadel they must spy out some less defended part. After all these obstacles were overcome, one remained more invincible still, the jealousy of the courtiers. Sully triumphed over all. The enemies of France learned to fear him. Henry's esteem increased and the courtiers acquired a new motive of hatred.

I shall not dilate on the military ac-

tions of Sully ; what would be the principal glory of the history of another man's life is only an episode in his, and I behold this great man with the eyes of posterity, who, in the statesman, have seen the warrior eclipsed. I shall merely give a rapid sketch of his negotiations, and pass on to the description of his administration.

SECOND PART.



WHEN the death of the last Prince of the House of Valois had opened to Henry the Fourth a path to the throne, this prince cast his eyes upon France and its dependencies, to consider what remained either to hope or to fear. England, agitated by the tyrannical caprices of Henry VIII. weakened under Edward VI. flowing with blood under Mary, flourishing and tranquil under Elizabeth, was laying the foundations of permanent grandeur, and appeared disposed to support the pretensions of a Protestant King in France. Holland, struggling with its tyrants, beheld in their enemy a necessary ally. Germany degraded under the sway of Rodolph, dreaded the Ottomans, and had little influence over its neighbours. Switzerland, brave and free, needed in

its poverty to sell its soldiers and its blood. Spain, increased by its territories in the New World, had overwhelmed Portugal, threatened England, and desolated France. Rome launched its thunders. Sweden and Denmark were unconnected with the middle of Europe. Poland was in a state of barbarism. Russia had no political existence : within the kingdom was the League protected by Spain, authorised by the Popes, who opposed Kings in the name of Heaven. Here he contemplated Mayenne, wise in counsel, slow in execution, an excellent chief of a party, a more able than fortunate warrior ; Aumale, ardent, impetuous braving death and kings ; Nemours, sufficiently eminent to excite the jealousy of Mayenne ; Mercoeur, a philosopher in the bosom of revolt, and humane amid the atrocities of civil war ; Brissac, a romantic and singular genius, anxious to create the model of ancient Rome out of the ruins of France ; the Cardinal of Bourbon, who from weakness was forced to assume

the crown. Guise, whose name was a host ; Epernon, whose distinguishing character was pride, and who never inspired any other sentiment than fear ; Villars, haughty and violent, but frank and brave ; Joyeuse, devout from caprice and a warrior from fanaticism ; Villeroy, an upright man and an able statesman ; added to these was the President Jeannin, too virtuous for a rebel, the lover of his country, the enemy of Spain, hated by the Sixteen, the soul of his party in spite of themselves, he moderated their violence. On the other side was Aumont, a faithful subject and an intrepid warrior ; Biron, who had been Generalissimo in seven battles : he, who to be great wanted only to be virtuous ; Givry, equally eminent in letters as in war ; Crillon, whose name and honour is synonymous ; Lesdiguières, risen from the ranks to be Constable, in times when merit finds its own level ; Montmorency, worthy of his honoured name ; Mornai, an almost solitary instance of religion carried to excess without fanati-

cism ; Sanci, a warrior, a magistrate, a negociator and a minister. Harlai, who had the glory of suffering for his King ; Bouillon, in whose ardent and restless genius was combined the activity of ambition and the phlegm of policy ; the Count D'Auvergne eager for cabals and dissipation ; the Count de Soissons, brave but inconstant, little attached to his master, jealous of his glory, without foresight in his passions, needing agitation, and tormenting himself without a settled object. Such were the virtues and the vices, the qualities and the dispositions, of those who served and those who opposed Henry IV. To unite such various interests, to calm such opposite passions, to vanquish was insufficient ; it was necessary to negotiate. Sully, a warrior and a politician, assisted the King's cause by his talents as well as served it by his valour. Hardly was the League formed when Henry sent him to the Court of France to observe its operations. He noted a conjuncture preceding great trou-

bles, in which every one is engaged in taking measures for self-preservation, when friendship assumes the guise of party spirit, when hatred becomes faction, when private interests clog the wheels of Government, when the vulgar cease to wonder at Sovereign grandeur, when the nobility make a traffic of their faith and set a price on their integrity. He had followed all the revolutions of the state, and the progress of the various systems. He had negociated at the peril of his life the treaty which united the two Kings. He negociated with all the Leaguers who had the resources of the state at their disposal, or whose reputation weighed on the fidelity of the people. Villars, master of an important position, opposed blind courage and indiscriminating passion. Sully, by coolness, moderation and frankness, triumphed over this haughty spirit, and restored a citizen to the state. The heir of the House of Guise fought to uphold the throne shaken by the intrigues of his family. Sully

brought a crowd of rebels to the feet of his master. He profited by their jealousy to sow the seeds of division; by their mutual hatred to inspire the love of duty; flattered ambition by dignities, interest by riches, vanity by praises; estimated by the strength of character and passion the value that individuals set on their hatred or their vengeance; calculated the service that each could render his master, what number he would carry along with him; flattered the powerful with the glory of influencing the scale of empire, the subordinate class with the hope of greatness; persuading each that to him belonged the greatest share of confidence, and engaging all to decision, that they might not see others bear away the reward. Such was the management employed by Sully towards the obscure factious crowd which form the mass of parties, and whose policy is passion. But with men of a superior order, he put forth all the strength of reason. He weighed the interests of France, balanced

its claims, unfolded his resources, depicted the horrors of civil contests, the necessity of a directing power, the King's virtues ; he awakened in every heart the voice of the country which called for its citizens and displayed that masculine eloquence which had its source less in talent than in the vigour of sentiment.

In these deplorable times fidelity itself was factious ; while the Leaguers were returning to their duty, it was necessary to endeavour to maintain a spirit of loyalty in Henry's party. Obedience seemed a favour, not a duty. The Catholics, jealous of the Protestants, and corrupted by Spain, were ever forming conspiracies, which they termed sacred, because they were disguised with the colour of religion. The nobility, accustomed to independence, feared the dominion of a king, who would be a check on their tyranny. The Protestants were animated by a republican spirit, which had its source in civil discord ; the example of

Holland and persecution itself fostered the growth of this spirit; at first they espoused the cause of Henry IV. but served him most equivocally, rather as conspirators than as subjects; indignant that the Catholics should share the honour of taking up arms in his cause; anxiously beholding him almost alienated from their faith; looking on the privileges accorded them in the edict of Nantz as their right, and every refusal of their demands as injustice; irreconcilable with the religion of the party which had triumphed, they formed a numerous body in the state, alternately repressed by authority and struggling against it. Henry opposed the genius of Sully to all these contending factions. Sully never for a moment relaxed his vigilance. He gave timely notice of the approach of rebellion, ever less formidable when foreseen; or he extinguished its elementary principles.

If we narrowly observe the tendency of assemblies where the interest of the

subject and the state are set in opposition, we shall perceive that the assemblies held by the Protestants were of a formidable character; their congregated strength was thus made obvious, their concentrated passions acquired additional activity.— It would doubtless have been desirable that these assemblies should have been put down: but it was only by their toleration that a yet unsettled Government could appear to retain the power of suppressing them. To prevent their ill effects it was requisite that an individual should preside in them armed with the Royal authority, who should influence their decisions while he appeared only to coincide with them. A mind so firm as to maintain the honour of the throne, and so wise as not to aggravate spirits already too much excited; who possessed pliability of character to conciliate various tempers, and dignity to awe them; animated, yet self-possessed, ingenious to divide and eloquent to induce concurrence, endowed with penetration

rather than impenetrable. Such was Sully ; he conciliated distrust, dissipated rumours spread by animosity, interposed authority to check measures of little consequence, and silently and secretly repressed the most dangerous. He kept some in the path of duty by fear, others by interest, some by shame, the rest by glory ; not a passion or a vice but yielded to his control and concurred to the tranquillity of the State.

This influence was not limited to France ; wherever it could promote the interest of Henry, the genius of Sully predominated. I leave to others the task of narrating the negociations of this great man with Switzerland, Savoy, Rome and Florence, and will follow him to England, where Elizabeth no longer reigned, but was succeeded by the son of Mary Stuart. Henry IV. had planned the humiliation of the House of Austria. Irritated by the pride of Charles V. and the treachery of Philip II. ; bearing all the

weight of the misery of France, and his private injuries ; he resolved to be the avenger of France, Europe and himself, and finally to terminate the general dispute. The assistance of England was requisite in a quarrel which was to arm one half of Europe against the other. Sully leaves France with Henry's instructions. When he arrived in London, nothing but obstacles presented themselves ; a proud and magnanimous nation, capable of conceiving vast projects, the enemy of its rival state, making its own aggrandizement the focus of its strength and its designs, an agitated and factious Court ; the partisans of France opposing those of Spain, others equally jealous of both powers ; some seditious, eager for innovation attached to no particular party, but anxious to increase the general ferment ; Ministers, ardent in their ambitious pursuits, careless of the welfare of the state, refusing to lend their assistance to a project which did not emanate from themselves ; a courageous Queen, pas-

sionately attached to the Catholics, braving her husband's authority from fanaticism. A Prince, acting from a sense of justice, but weak and irresolute; a theologian rather than a King; composing books instead of governing his people; without firmness to restrain his own subjects, or policy to influence other nations. The genius of Sully met all these difficulties like an able general, who, having to oppose the enemy in a disadvantageous country, carefully observes and seizes every tenable post. Sully, on his arrival in London, considered every obstacle and advantage relative to his negociation. He appreciated the weakness of the King; he learnt to distrust his Ministers, he frustrated the intrigue of the Spaniards, he excited the hatred of their tyrants in the Dutch Envoys, he engaged Sweden and Denmark, to extend their views to the middle states of Europe; he inflamed Venice with the hope of recovering her ancient grandeur. Armed with these united forces, he again assails

the King, and urges the vast designs of Henry IV. approved by Elizabeth ; he places before him Europe, rent into two great factions : on one side the Emperor, possessing only claims and weakness, the Pope, an honourable slave to Austria, Spain devastated by America, Spanish Flanders tottering under the Government of Philip II. ; Savoy, hemmed in by two great powers which overwhelmed it, the lesser states of Italy fated to depend on the power that might chuse to conquer or deign to purchase them ; on the other side, France, fertile in resources, and arising more formidable in strength from the ashes of civil combustion. England, powerful from her fleets, and yet more from her genius ; Sweden, mighty in arms and heroes ; Denmark, proud of its former conquests ; Venice, like Tyra, the merchant city, and the conquering Carthage ; Holland, celebrated by the successive victories of forty years ; and, lastly, the Protestant States of Germany and Switzerland, enthusiastic in liberty

and religion. He detailed his project, displayed his means of carrying them into execution, and at length interested the vanity of James, by describing the Kings of France and England at the head of this great enterprise, altering the face of Europe and deciding the fate of Kings. But, alas ! how vain are the triumphs of great men ! what avails it that Sully triumphed over all these obstacles, and united England and France against Austria ? The death of Henry IV. rendered all these strokes of policy useless. The execution of a part of this vast plan was left to Richlieu ; the other was never completed ; and all that was effected was effaced by succeeding events. Thus the political world experiences even more revolutions than the physical.

How great soever the talents of Sully might be for negotiation, in this species of glory he is perhaps rivalled by the President Jeannin and the Cardinal Ossat ; but as a Minister he had no equal : he

surpassed his predecessors, and is deservedly the model of posterity.



THIRD PART.

How inadequate are the orators of these times, unconnected with the business of Government, to treat subjects which embrace the political system of nations. It would belong to the orators of the ancient Republics, or rather to some individual who might observe all the changes of all nations, discern periods and climes, trace the causes and effects of the rise and fall of kingdoms, to eulogise a Minister and a Statesman. Who shall pretend to display the qualities with which he ought to be adorned. If I as-

sign him wisdom and activity, a talent for detail as well as a genius for great combinations—if I say that he should govern like nature by invariable and simple principles, by a system so completely organised that the lesser operations were carried on imperceptibly ; who in judging of a particular measure, compared it with the general system, calculate the reciprocal influence of the several powers, and of each on their combined influence, seize the connection of objects apparently distant, discern the sources and application of power, unite public and private interests, make them concur even in their opposition to the general harmony—if I say that a Minister should adopt facility in measures, and avoid almost as evils, half-remedies in great misfortunes, approach the object of his efforts without dwelling on obstacles ; distinguish the administration of affairs, from acts of authority, and those conjunctures which are never so happy as when left to themselves, not to take the

forced posture of affairs for their natural state, and not to depart from general principles because adherence to them may occasion trifling inconvenience, and not to imagine that all abuses can be eradicated, the most fatal error of all; not to sacrifice the welfare of the state to that of a single city, nor cause the misery of ages for momentary advantage—if I add that it should be the incessant endeavour of a Minister to retrench the sum of evil caused by daily embarrassment, the turmoil of business, the exigency of the moment, the indolence or corruption of agents, and the eternal contrast of what would be possible in the nature of things, and what ceases to be so from human passions; were I to assert all this and more I should have faintly traced the qualities and duties which belong to a statesman. The actions of Sully will speak for him, and demonstrate the profundity and extent of his talents.

Before he was Minister of Finance

his master had cast his eyes on him to repair the evils under which his country groaned. His first merit was that he was aware of their existence. He contemplated the entire extent of the mischief, he beheld a kingdom sinking under thirty years of civil warfare, a prey to all the evils produced by weakened and despised authority. He began by calculating the debts of the state; he found it indebted to England, Switzerland and Holland, which had furnished Henry with troops, vessels, arms and gold, to aid his conquest of the Leaguers; to the army yet unpaid; to the usurers who forced the kingdom to pay for its destruction; to all the officers of the various departments of the administration, who claimed twenty years arrears of services and pensions, to the slaves and favourites, on whom Henry III. had lavished the treasures drained from the vital of the State; to the farmers of the taxes, who, loading the Government with heavy payments, enjoyed in indolence, the fruits of a na-

tion's toils; and to the chiefs of the League, who had almost all sold their fidelity to their new master. He had been necessitated to purchase every fortress, to pay for every treaty, to estimate the price at which each would sell the profits of rebellion, as if the honour of returning to duty had not been the most ample reward. He calculated and found the sum total of these debts to be three hundred and thirty millions. Sully passed on to the examination of the revenue. Would it were possible in this age to create astonishment by stating that the King had the disposal of only thirty millions, while the people paid one hundred and fifty millions. What could be the cause of this incredible disorder? The weakness of kings, the rapacity of subjects. Besides the subsidies levied for the exigencies of the state, every officer, either of war, justice, or finance, levied taxes on the people, who were obliged to maintain these subaltern tyrants. All the creditors of the state,

whether foreigners or subjects, taking the payment into their own hands, had appropriated to their private uses the revenues of their Prince, and their banditti of clerks and commissaries disputed with those of the Government the plunder of a nation. The farmers general having established subordinate farms, which were divided and subdivided, the revenue was exhausted by passing through so many hands, like those accumulated waters, which tumbling down the depths of precipices in reiterated cascades, evaporating in foam, and borne by winds to distant plains, reach only in part their basin in the valley beneath. Domains to the value of one hundred millions had been illegally alienated. A great portion of the Royal revenue had been usurped by the nobles or sold at a contemptible price by those in whose hands its management had been placed. But the principal source of disorder were the peculations of agents. It is not possible to detail all the contrivances invented by avarice to appropriate

the revenues of the state. The receipts were falsified, the expenditure fraudulently stated; the emoluments of places augmented, double and triple offices created, some expenses erroneously entered and others suppressed. Sully detected all these hidden sources of peculation, by which the receivers appropriated the gold of France. He examined all the registers, compared the statements, verified the accounts, collated and combined them. I shall not hesitate to say that this obscure labour does Sully the highest honour. The mind of a great man feels secret pleasure when it predominates in counsel and braves powerful enemies for the good of the state; his genius expands when he forms those mighty combinations which influence the fate of Europe; but to plunge into details which require constant and common-place attention; to consecrate to minute calculations the hand accustomed to wave armies to victory; these toils of certain difficulty and uncertain benefit, in which the imagina-

tion is not sustained by the sentiment of glory, demands a stronger mind than the more brilliant operations of Government.

Sully continued his scrutiny : he observed the effects of these abuses throughout the kingdom. He sees industry obstructed, the circulation checked, lands uncultivated and of little value, the people in misery, credit destroyed, no present resource and almost inevitable ruin. Yet France, in her aspiring struggles, agitated and tormented herself to find a remedy for her evils. A Council of Finance had been created, a sort of hydra, more fatal to France than was the administration of the Superintendant it replaced ; the members of this Council increased the evils they were appointed to reform ; they governed all the farms of the kingdom under borrowed names, and appropriated to themselves large sums for contracts, of which they paid only a small proportion, forced the creditors of the state by long delays to re-

duce their payments, but entered the entire sum in their accounts ; they refused for the necessary supplies of the war those treasures which they lavished in luxury, and revelled in the necessities of the King, the miseries of the people, and the ruin of the state. So have we beheld in our own age a city overthrown by an earthquake, the prey of plunderers who sought for gold among the dead, to whom its ruins afforded a sepulchre ; these licenced plunderers rejoiced in the overthrow of their country. France was on the verge of ruin : but SULLY was its minister. While every thing was combined for its destruction, he omitted no effort to save it. That he might completely ascertain its difficulties he made journies through its different provinces. Oh ye who would know and remedy the evils of a state, leave your palaces. Seated at your luxurious boards, you are ignorant that thousands perish with hunger. In courts and around the throne no tale is told but that of prosperity ;

but when the fields are deserted, the instruments of husbandry broken, the cottages uninhabited and falling into ruins ; when the grass is growing in the solitary streets of the towns, when whole families are met on the high roads, bidding adieu to their native land and seeking subsistence in happier climes ; then the heart throbs, tears flow, and we begin to comprehend that the court is not the state, and that the luxury of a few individuals is not the prosperity of twenty millions of citizens.

Such was the spectacle presented to the eyes of Sully ; but to the heart of a citizen he united the discrimination of a philosopher. While he observed the evils he studied their remedy. Posterity ought to be informed that Sully had as many obstacles to overcome from the conduct of the financiers as his master had to encounter when he disputed every city with the Leaguers. Sully's virtue triumphed ; he explored this desolated kingdom with

the most enlightened and benevolent views. Misery at length disappears and light dawns. Sully is armed with the King's authority, he is endowed with all the energy imparted by benevolent views. He commenced by the reform of abuses. He deprived the agents of Government and the nobles of the power of levying contributions on the provinces, the people, freed from their tyrants, rejoiced that they had only one master to pay. In vain did Epernon uphold the opposite party in the Council, fear was not made for Sully, As a minister he frustrated injustice, as a warrior he was unawed by menaces. Unappalled by difficulties, he pursued his career. He forbid the creditors of the state to make levies on farms of the revenue. By this regulation the revenues were rescued from the grasp of England, Germany, Switzerland, Florence, Venice, and the most powerful of the subjects of France. Henry IV. himself was alarmed at the storm that was gathering over the head of Sully. But

Sully was firm. He annihilated the system of underletting the farms of the revenue. He prepared a general scheme of Finance, which frustrated undue means of gaining riches. He invented new methods of keeping the accounts. The dens of avarice were explored, and the tigers who preyed on the vitals of the people dislodged. Unjust gains were scrutinized in the Courts of Law. Avarice was obliged to refund her pillage, and the riches which had been alienated from the use of the state, were again restored to it. If Government did not derive from these decisive measures all the advantage that was expected—if several great criminals escaped, Sully must not be accused; such irregularities arose from venality and intrigue: from the difficulty of doing good and the excess to which disorder had arrived. For at some periods gold will avert the punishment of crimes of which it has been the source. However a new face of things was presented. The revenue was doubled. Fo-

reigners had no share in its profits and ceased to sell their protection. From that moment employments were more deservedly bestowed: for I dare assert that patronage is seldom worthily exercised. He who tempts others must already be corrupt, and how can we esteem him who employs bribery to gain his ends. Tyranny and usurpation disappears; domains to the value of eighty millions are restored to the Sovereign. Sully performs a more difficult operation: the system of Finance is thoroughly fathomed—its source, its hypothesis, its changes, every debt is discussed, every degree of fraud and injustice considered, the debts discharged, and the impositions abolished.

Strict equity presided over these regulations, and measures which were injurious to the fortunes of individuals re-established the public credit. Laws were enacted to prevent the specie from passing into the neighbouring states. But laws

were inadequate while interested views were a constant temptation to their violation. Sully applied various remedies to this evil, but none was entirely successful. This great man must have the credit of all the good he was anxious to do, and his age the disgrace of the abuses he could not correct. Order facilitated payments, every expenditure was met by a portion of the revenue. Government was no longer in arrears because the disbursements did not exceed the receipts. Delays were forbidden by a strict edict, and those shameful treaties abolished in which the creditor was obliged to set to sale a part of his debt to purchase the rest. If these details appear tedious, we must consider that causes apparently minute influence the prosperity of nations. Every reform instituted by Sully ameliorated the condition of the people. The cities and the provinces were relieved from their burden of imposts. The vexatious delays, the odious formalities, remedies yet more cruel than evils, were

suppressed. Privileges often unjust and even dangerous, were reduced to their due limits, and impartiality facilitated redress.

It will here be proper to unfold the principles of state economy adopted by Sully, in which he was so ably seconded by the genius and humanity of Henry IV. How could these warriors so readily assume the characters of statesmen? Does the habit of danger familiarise the imagination to resource? Or is it the brilliant motives, the glory, the toils, the mighty combinations which are present to those in whose hands are the fate of nations, that elevates minds and makes them exert all their energies?

We must not confound the science of State economy with the simple administration of Finance; the latter requires only mechanical order, the former is the science of Government. It penetrates the sources of riches, it augments, it re-

gulates, it distributes them. The records of vanity bear the names of numerous Superintendants of Finance: to the annals of his country are inscribed the name of SULLY.

By what fatality is taxation more ruinous to states than war, pestilence, or famine? Why are the fields deserted, the country depopulated? Why has France lost half of her revenue?—because the profits which would produce accumulated profits are wrung from the husbandman, and the source of the revenue being exhausted, cannot produce fresh enterprise. To obviate this grievance one of the first acts of Sully was to sink twenty millions of the arrears of taxes, and annually to diminish this tax two millions. This great minister regarded the land tax as erroneous in itself, more particularly when it is of so arbitrary a nature as to render property uncertain and exposed to capricious tyranny. Consider the husbandman, limiting his

industry, anticipating a bad harvest with pleasure, and fearing to expend his capital in improvements lest his riches should be imputed to him as a crime. Consider the poor sinking under toil, yet obliged to bear the burden of the rich ; privileges sold to one class ; the misery of another ; the fertility of some lands balanced by the sterility of others ; oppression leaving only the naked walls of a hut from which it had torn the bed on which a mother had given citizens to the State ; seize on the garments of the new-born infant ; unfortunate beings with sighs and groans refusing to give up the last sheaf which they had secreted for the food of their little ones. Are the peasantry then the enemies of the state, that they are devoted to oppression and tyranny ? Shame to the narrow soul that calls such oppression policy : as if the mass of the people were not citizens, as if their prosperity were not the prosperity of the other classes, as if despair encouraged industry more than ease and liberty ! Yet such were the

abuses against which Sully daily raised his voice in Council. He likewise opposed the tax upon commodities as a fresh burden on the land. But his entire indignation was excited by the tax on salt, a sort of scourge which desolated certain provinces, and forced the poor to buy salt when they wanted bread ; it was exacted by violence, and withered enterprise and industry, whenever it was in force. “ Sire,” said Sully to Henry IV. “ you have delivered your country from civil anarchy, but they enjoy not the blessings of peace : armies of robbers besiege their dwellings ; rescue your subjects from their real enemies, and France from desolation more awful than ensued from the battles of St. Denis, Jarnac, Moncontour and Courtras.” I shall not dwell on the tenant service which wrested from the peasant not only his money but his toil, which spared the state the wages of a few labourers, but by the injury it did to agriculture deprived it of one source of revenue. I will not expatiate

on the manner in which taxes were levied : a greater grievance than the taxes themselves ; evil pervades every thing, and law supposes its perversion.

Kings, Princes, Ministers, consider the leading principle of Sully. Agriculture is the basis of your power. Agriculture maintains fleets and levies armies, and victory blossoms in the fertile field. Athens and Rome required warriors and sages. To renovate France Sully demanded only shepherds and husbandmen. He encouraged this useful class ; he gave rewards to those who cultivated waste lands. He every where put in requisition the toil of the peasantry to fertilise the plains. He called to France the eight hundred thousand Moors, whom superstition had driven from Spain. By a wise regulation he secured the peasantry from the oppression of the army. “ Soldiers and husbandmen,” he exclaimed, “ why are these disputes ? Are the Defenders of the country to attack its Sup-

porters?" He protected them from a species of depredators yet more formidable : from those who, under the shadow of law, seized their ploughs and steers in the unfinished furrow. Happy change! Agriculture revived, the plains became fertile, joy and serenity smiled in the cottage of the husbandman. Oh ! days of prosperity. France increased one third in population, furnished part of Europe with bread. England imported our corn and thus paid tribute to our soil. It cannot be too often repeated, particularly in these times, that this abundance was the happy result of the freedom of commerce. It is true that there existed even then persons entrusted with a limited portion of the administration who eagerly seized an opportunity of deciding in matters of state, and for the interests of a district were willing to sacrifice the happiness of a kingdom. Such persons ventured to restrict the exportation of corn in their districts. Sully exerted that authority which is ever benevolent when it

exercises useful severity. “ If every agent of Government” said Sully to the King, “ did the same, “ your subjects would be destitute, and consequently your Majesty.” These words are a lesson to Princes.

Liberty is the soul of commerce, which ever flies oppression Sully encouraged and sought to fix it in France. The interior commerce suffered from imposts, which the nobles levied under the sanction of weak and unenlightened authority. The abuses of freedom had been replaced by the monopoly which ever exists under a false system of police. Sully opposed all these avaricious tyrants. He established a board of trade, a necessary institution, but which will never possess complete powers, till the merchant shall be united to the statesman. The former will add experience to the genuine views of the latter. He undertook to join by a canal the Seine and the Loire. He made other rivers navigable. He im-

proved the roads, not like the ancient Romans, for the extension of slavery, but for the circulation of riches and plenty. He encouraged and protected industry, but he kept it in the subordinate class to which it belongs. In the course of his observations on other nations he had noticed the gold of Peru circulating through the Indies and Europe, but in the greater proportion through fertile kingdoms. From this he argued that agriculture is the prime source of riches, that smaller states may be benefited by commerce, but that it properly belongs to great kingdoms. Of manufactures he only encouraged that of wool, because it is connected with the pasturage of flocks, and is a new source of fertility. The principal advantage of industry is to give a value to commodities by facilitating their consumption, and the most common manufactures are the most useful.

The vulgar, who are over-awed by magnificence, admire great cities and a

splendid metropolis ; the sage regards them as colossal decorations which threaten to crush a nation. Sully made it a principle of government to endeavour to disperse these congregated masses. He wished every one to love the inheritance of his forefathers ; every husbandman to be proud of his profession and to prefer the honour of reigning over his fields to selling his service in cities. The multiplication of offices has ever been considered by the statesman as a public disaster. Sully discerned the point at which necessity ends and abuse begins, and within these limits he reduced the agents of Government. The high interest of money burdened the nobility with debt and encouraged the indolence of the people. This interest was reduced, estates recovered their value, and the active class of citizens found resources. By this principle he re-imbursed the revenue a hundred millions. He was pained to behold the indolence of so many persons maintained by the state. This able minister

saw the political connection of morals and laws ; he strove to suppress vice, and especially luxury : luxury, more fatal than war and sedition, because the latter only occasions temporary convulsions, while the former eats into the vitals of a country by the destruction of virtuous principle.

By an administration founded on these principles, in fifteen years Sully renovated France ; but he could not have liquidated a debt of fifty millions, and have placed forty millions in the King's coffers, if he had not added to his other resources economy. I mean by economy the retrenchment of trifling expences, which procures only trifling aids. I mean that true economy which manages the public treasure as individuals do their family possessions. The establishment of order and the prevention of dissipation, and which to the use of the state in general that wealth which is the substance of the state. Praise be to Sully that he has given to Ministers

an example of this courageous economy, and may it be permitted us to pray that so great an example may not be without its use to the nations.

So many cares and toils in the economical department did not engross the genius of Sully ; it comprehended the whole extent of administration. Artillery, war, the navy, the arts, religion, policy, all are improved. I may even assert that this great man was the benefactor of France when he ceased to exist. He anticipated the reign of Louis XIV. and was the model of Colbert. COLBERT and SULLY,—it is pleasing to unite these honoured names, and by them to date the most interesting epochs of our history, and perhaps of the history of Europe.

Both destined to act distinguished parts, they rose to power under similar circumstances. Sully appeared after the horrible depredations of favourites, and the disorders of the League. Colbert had

to repair the evils caused by the enfeebled and turbulent reign of Louis XIII. the brilliant but artificial operations of Richelieu, the war of the Fronde, and the disordered state of Finance under Mazarin. Both found the people burdened with taxes, and the King deprived of a considerable portion of his revenue ; both had the good fortune to have to deal with Princes who had geniuses adapted to government, anxious for the welfare of the state ; who had courage to attempt and firmness to maintain it ; equally desirous of glory, one of the glory of France, the other of his own. Both began by the liquidation of the national debt ; and the same necessities led to the adoption of similar measures. Both strove to augment the public treasure. Both understood the theory of taxation, but Sully did not derive equal advantage from it ; Colbert nicely balanced this system. Each diminished the expenditure and abolished the shameful traffic of places, which enriched and degraded the Court, and both

deprived the courtiers of the power of farming the revenue.

Both facilitated the receipts and diminished the profits of the receivers. But in all these departments the glory of Colbert is only that he imitated Sully and revived the laws of this able minister. The minister of Louis XIV. by Sully's example, secured a fund for each branch of expenditure, reduced the interest of money, and facilitated internal intercourse; but Colbert made the canal of Languedoc, which Sully only planned. They both laid on the rich the burdens from which they relieved the poor, and each are reproached with having checked industry by taxation. Credit, that important part of public riches, which circulates its real possessions, and supplies its wants, appears not to have been sufficiently known to Sully, and but little applied by Colbert. The excessive premiums of lenders were abolished by both; but Sully understood better the import-

ance of uniting the resources of the financial system with those of commerce and agriculture. They both directed their attention to the currency, but Sully perceived only defects, and applied dangerous remedies ; Colbert had in this department the advantage of experience and that of his age. Both perceived that the reform of the Courts of Law would influence the national happiness ; but the period was calculated for Colbert to execute what Sully could only wish. One in turbulent times, under a warrior king, only hinted to the nation that the sciences were worthy of esteem ; the other the minister of a King who was magnificent even in his literary pleasures, gave the world an example too often forgotten, of the reward, encouragement, esteem and developement of every species of talent. Sully found out the utility of the navy, and this was much in an age which was emerging from barbarity. Colbert had the glory of creating the navy of France. Commerce was protected by both minis-

ters : but one limited it to the produce of agriculture, the other to that of manufactures. Sully preferred with reason that which can neither be divided by other nations, or carried away, which insures the dependence of foreigners. Colbert was not aware that the 'other species is founded on capricious tastes, and that it may pass with its manufacturers into any other country. Sully therefore surpassed Colbert in his knowledge of the real sources of commerce ; but Colbert went beyond him in care, activity, and political calculation in this department. He diminished the customs of the interior, which Sully sometimes augmented by his ability in combining the imports and exports, which is perhaps the nicest calculation of a legislator, and in which the most trifling error may cost millions to the state. It would be difficult to equal Colbert in the extensive principles or details of commerce : and it would be difficult to surpass Sully in the encouragement he gave to agriculture ; not that

Colbert entirely neglected this important branch.

Let us not exaggerate the imperfections of the great men ; the extreme of censure is as absurd as the extreme of panegyric. Colbert followed the example of Sully in making the peasantry prosperous : he diminished the land tax, he remedied the evils of arbitrary taxation, he encouraged by useful regulations the improvement of cattle, and encouraged population by recompense, but not permitting the exportation of corn many admirable measures failed. There was no real prosperity ; the state appeared flourishing, and the people were wretched ; the specie circulated by commerce never reached the labouring classes ; the price of corn was depreciated till scarcity ensued. Such were the principles and measures of these two great men. If we now compare their character and talents, we shall find that the minds of both were just and comprehensive, their projects

great and executed with order and activity. But Sully was perhaps superior in seizing the general scheme of government, while Colbert excelled in details. One had more of the calculation of modern policy, the other of the policy of the ancient lawgivers, who deduced consequences from one great principle. The plan of Colbert is a vast and complicated machine which required constant repair ; the plan of Sully was simple and uniform like that of nature. Colbert depended on men : Sully on things. One created resources unknown to France : the other employed the resources she possessed. The reputation of Colbert is therefore more brilliant : that of Sully more solid. As to personal qualities each had courage and strength of mind, without which no great progress can be made either in good or evil : but the policy of one was congenial to the austerity of his morals ; that of the other to the luxury of his age. It was the melancholy fate of each to be hated : one by the great, the other by the

people. Colbert was accused of harshness ; Sully of pride ; but if they had the misfortune to displease individuals, they were beloved by the nation at large. If we examine their conduct in reference to the Princes they served, we shall perceive that Sully directed his master, but that Colbert's governed him ; that the former was the popular, the latter the royal minister ; from a comparative estimate of the talents of the two Sovereigns, we may judge that Sully was indebted to Henry IV. for a part of his glory, and that Louis XIV. owed a considerable portion of his to Colbert.

The character of Sully would be partially estimated, if any one remained ignorant that his virtues were equal to his talents. Why do not my limits permit me to quote that part of his memoirs, where, tracing the portrait of a perfect statesman, he expresses all the moral qualities he possessed without perceiving it ! His pure morals, his aversion to

luxury, that stoical courage which conquers nature : which resists pleasures and denies itself every indulgence that can enervate the soul. Sully had adopted these habits from principle as well as character. At Court he continued the frugal mode of living which he had acquired in camps. The rich voluptuaries would have disdained his table ; but Gueschin and Bayard would have become his willing guests. His days were devoted to incessant application. He apportioned his time to the exigencies of the state ; every year bore on its passing wings its tribute to his country. Even his recreations were of a noble and dignified character ; they brought repose without indolence, and pleasure without enfeebling luxury. Domestic economy had trained his mind to that public economy which saved the state. His enemies praised his probity. His justice might have excited admiration even in a virtuous age, his loyalty was conspicuous in a nation of rebels. After the death of his master

they might persecute him, but they never could make him a disloyal subject. His fidelity was unshaken by the ill treatment of the Court, and he rendered services to the Queen though she oppressed him. When he entered upon his ministerial career he feared not to give the nation an inventory of his possessions, and when he retired from office he could defy the censures of his age and of posterity. The bribes tendered to corrupt him disgraced only those who offered them. As a minister he received no gifts from subjects: as a subject he received from his master only the recompenses sanctioned by the laws. We have shewn his firmness in duty. France was leagued against him to prevent her rescue from destruction; he resisted all opposition, he had the courage to be hated. Noble birth, which never excites vanity except in weak minds, inspired him with virtuous emulation. Never was the high principle of honour, the basis of chivalry, carried further. Calumny and envy fol-

lowed of course. He defeated calumny by virtue, and humbled envy by success. He avenged himself of his enemies by losing no opportunity of doing them good. The wicked found him rigid and inflexible, the miserable feeling and compassionate. Zealous in religion without fanaticism and tolerant without indifference, he was the mediator of the Protestants with the King and the protector of the Catholics; he was adored at Geneva and esteemed at Rome. A good husband, a good master, a good father of a family: he offered to mankind a signal example; he was the friend of a King. Oh Henry the Fourth! Oh Sully! How perfect were the reciprocations of your hearts! how consoling the duteous attentions of your friendship! With Sully Henry forgot his sorrows: to him he confided all his vexations. The tears of a hero flowed on the bosom of a friend. Military frankness and pleasing familiarity marked their intercourse; the distinction of King and subject disappeared; they

were friends and therefore equals. On the part of Sully this tender friendship was still courageous and equitable. Through the murmur of flattery with which the court resounded, Sully made the voice of truth to be heard. He had too much esteem for Henry and for himself to speak any other language. All that would have been unworthy of one and would have degraded the other was impossible to either. Therefore he often ventured to displease his master. I shall not particularise his actions or his words on these occasions. There are some which would not suit the taste of this corrupted age. Weak minds would call them rash ; mean spirits might denominate them criminal ; but by the virtuous they will ever be held in honour. I will only present the subject in one light ;—the idea of Sully was to Henry what the remembrance of the Deity is to the just : a check to evil and an incitement to virtue.

Alas ! that a tie so tender, a commerce

so elevating, was to be broken? For how short a period was France blessed with this King and with this minister. Oh! moment of horror! when the ear of Sully was struck with the fatal sounds—the King is assassinated! the King is no more! when a faithful domestic who beheld the regicide placed before him, the fatal knife yet reeking with the life blood of Henry, when Sully rushed through the weeping, shrieking, sobbing and groaning populace, and hurried to the Louvre, once more to behold and to embrace the corpse of his friend, his master. He presses to his bosom and bathes with his tears the child destined to succeed the unfortunate Henry! We may imagine his feelings, when, in this house of mourning, this palace in which were the remains of the murdered King, almost in the very chamber of death, and by the light of the funeral torches, he beheld the joy of the new court, a joy more agonising to his soul than if he had beheld the knife plunged in the bosom of his

master, and seen his blood flow. From this moment he anticipated the future; he perceived that France was struck with the blow under which Henry IV. perished. Yet he loved the state too well to leave it to its new tyrants. He renewed his efforts; he dared to pronounce the names of duty and justice; but corruption was arrived at that point when the example of a great man only accumulates the guilt of his cotemporaries. Unable to avert evil, the only glory that remained to him was to refuse it his sanction. He resigned his employments, quitted the court, carrying with him his virtues, his services, and the ingratitude of mankind.

History has described sages in retreat, and heroes under oppression, but it offers no delineation so imposing as the dignity of Sully in retreat. It was the dignity of virtue itself, on which men courts and kings have no power. The greatness of his soul seemed to pervade his dwelling.

A crowd of domestics, numerous gentlemen, attendants and ushers, elegance not frivolous, but magnificent: the dignity of his style of living, the respect of his numerous vassals, the subordination of an illustrious family: apartments ornamented with paintings of the heroic actions of Henry IV. inseparable from those of Sully: the grand simplicity of his extensive domains: Sully, gray-headed, dressed in the mode of his own times, wearing the portrait of Henry IV. next his heart, the sacred gravity of his discourse, the majesty of his countenance, the elevated seat on which he was placed to distinguish him from his children, the honourable reception which the aged received from his family, the silence mingled with awe of the young people whom their parents brought to behold this great man: the whole seemed to present a scene above common life, and excited extraordinary emotions in the hearts of the beholders. How different are these manners from our own! Thus he lived thirty years

in retreat, without complaining either of mankind or their injustice, grieving for the loss of his master, faithful to the new King, esteemed and hated by Richelieu, and having survived all but virtue, which accompanied him to the tomb. Death terminated a life extended to his eighty-second year; fifty years of his life were devoted to the service of the state, and the rest might have been equally useful to it.

A mausoleum raised over his ashes, has preserved the effigy of this great man; his spirit has been transmitted to us in his memoirs: it yet lives in their pages, it watches our errors and our crimes: it casts a reproofing glance on nations, governments, and mankind. It instructed Colbert, it may yet be a lesson for one of those minds which appear in every age. The titles and estates of Sully have descended to his posterity; his virtues are public property: they belong to whoever will imitate them. Where shall we

find so brave a spirit? If it exist, let it not expect tranquillity or popular favour, the idol of weak minds. Let him know that a great minister is the victim of the state, that to contribute to the real benefit of mankind often displeases them. But if he be worthy to save his country, he will look for other recompense more truly valuable; he may like Sully be secure of the approbation of his Maker, the witness of his own heart, the suffrage of true citizens, the admiration of great minds, and the applause of posterity.

FINIS.

Page 8, line 20, for 'blinded' read 'blended.'

Page 10, line 7, for 'succeeding' read 'succeeding.'

Page 22, line 19, for 'external' read 'eternal.'

Page 34, line 16, for 'are' read 'is.'

Page 77, line 11, for 'aspiring' read 'expiring.'

Page 93, line 15, after 'mean' insert 'not.'

Same page, line 21, after 'which' insert 'devotes.'

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